

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: ISABEL GANADE, housewife

Isabel Ganade, Visayan, was born in Bohol, the fifth of 13 children on November 19, 1903. She completed a sixth grade education in the Philippines. She came to Hawaii in 1923 with her first husband, Mauro Plateros.

The couple lived at Makaweli Plantation and joined the 1924 strike residing in the Hanapepe strike camp. Her husband was one of the strikers arrested following the September 9 incident.

Following his release from jail, the couple lived alternately on Lihue Plantation and in Kapaa. In 1929, the couple moved to Oahu and were later divorced.

Isabel is the mother of four children; she currently resides with her second husband, Balthazar Ganade in Kalihi. She is active in a Waipahu Visayan organization and also belongs to the Bohol Circle.

Tape No. 5-21-1-78 TR1 and TR2

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

with

Isabel Ganade (IG)

October 18, 1978

Kalihi, Oahu

BY: Gael Gouveia (GG) and Ed Gerlock (EG)

GG: This is an interview with Isabel Ganade in her home in Kalihi. The date is October 18, 1978. The interviewers are Gael Gouveia and Ed Gerlock. [The interview was conducted in Visayan; Ed Gerlock translates.]

EG: Excuse me, manang, how do you correctly say your last name?

IG: Ganade. G-A-N-A-D-E.

EG: Where were you born?

IG: In the Philippines, on the island of Bohol, in the town of Loon.

EG: What year were you born?

IG: 1903.

EG: When is it that you came here to Hawaii?

IG: I came here in 1923.

EG: Why is it that you came here to Hawaii?

IG: I was looking for work.

EG: Were you still unmarried when you came?

IG: I was already married.

EG: How long were you married when you came?

IG: I was married not yet one year when we came.

EG: You didn't have children yet?

IG: No, not yet.

- EG: When you came here from the Philippines, did you come first to Honolulu?
- IG: Yes, first to Honolulu. The ship stops here in Honolulu before it goes on to Kauai, coming from the Philippines.
- EG: How long did you stay here in Honolulu, before going to Kauai?
- IG: I forgot, but I think maybe it was around one week that we stayed in Honolulu.
- EG: Then after one week here in Honolulu, you went straight to Kauai?
- IG: Yes.
- EG: And then when you arrived in Kauai what did you do?
- IG: Well, when we arrived there we were given a house. On a plantation. Makaweli.
- EG: When you were still in the Philippines, what was their way of getting people to come here to Hawaii?
- IG: There were agents who were going around the Philippines. They told the people that in Hawaii they had a big need for people to come, workers. Because there in the Philippines, at that time, there were a lot of people who didn't have any work. So a lot of Filipinos came here, especially from the Visayas, because they were looking for work.
- EG: When you heard them talking like this, while you were still in the Philippines, the agents, what was your feeling?
- IG: Well, I was kind of happy because my husband and I had no work.
- EG: Were there a lot of people who volunteered to come here to Hawaii?
- IG: Yeah, plenty. Every month people were coming. Every month there was a ship.
- EG: Were you given money while you were still there in the Philippines?
- IG: Yeah, once it was certain that you were accepted by the company to come here to work, you were given money. Every person was given 10 pesos and also a small amount of clothing; around two pieces of clothing each.
- EG: How about papers; did you have to get some kind of papers ready to come?
- IG: No, there was no need for passport, but there was a contract to be signed before you left. One of the things you agreed to on the contract was that you would work for three years. And after three

years you could go back to the Philippines if you liked, and the passage was free.

EG: While you were working there on the plantation did you sometimes send money back to the Philippines, to your family and relatives?

IG: Yeah, we did send money back, especially to my parents, once in a while. But it was hard to do because the salary was not so big; it was \$1 a day. We needed the money ourselves also.

EG: Who was working on the plantation; was it both of you, or just your husband?

IG: Only my husband worked on the plantation.

EG: What was your work?

IG: In the house only, working around the house. It was not one year from the time that we arrived that I gave birth to a child.

EG: [At the time of the strike she had a small child (born February 18, 1924). The child was not yet one year old. So they were fairly new arrivals at the time of the strike.

We're just talking about how they recruited people over there and then he signed the contract over there, legal stuff. She gave birth to a child the first year that she came here.]

Your parents back in Bohol, in the Philippines, what was their work?

IG: Farming is the work of my parents.

EG: How many hectares [1 hectare = 2.5 acres] was your land back there?

IG: I don't really know but it seems like it was fairly large because they were growing rice. Rice fields take a little bit of room.

EG: How many were in your family, the family that you came from, back in the Philippines?

IG: There were 13 members of the family.

EG: Your house back there in the Philippines, what kind of a house was it? Was it a big house or a small house?

IG: It's a fairly large house because we were such a big family.

EG: It was only you who were living in that house?

IG: Yeah, it was only our family.

EG: [One way of telling, in the Philippines, people's socio-economic

level, is by asking questions about like, for instance, the roof. If the roof is made out of nipa palm then you know that it's a fairly poor house. And if it's made out of sheet metal, then you know that it's a little bit more expensive house. Although, in those days, that wouldn't be so true because sheet metal wasn't so available. Anyway, I asked her what the roof was made out of.]

IG: Nipa palm. [A kind of a grass.] The walls of the house were made out of wood, planed wood. [Which would be a little more expensive house than some kind of a woven material, out of coconut fronds.] The ladder going up into the house, this was also made out of wooden stairs. [Which also is more expensive than other types of stairs going into houses. So it seems like they come from not a wealthy family by any means, but they were okay.]

GG: Did any of her family members come to Hawaii before she did, or was she the first?

IG: Only myself.

EG: Did anybody come after you or before you?

IG: No, I'm the only one.

EG: When you arrived here in Hawaii your language was Cebuano; was that a problem to be just speaking Cebuano, or did you try to speak English?

IG: Well, when we arrived in Kauai most of the people there were also Cebuano, and so it wasn't a big problem--although there were a number of Ilocanos also.

EG: Can you speak Ilocano also?

IG: No, I don't speak Ilocano.

GG: What camp did she live in?

EG: What camp did you move in to?

IG: I moved into Camp 4. [Makaweli]

EG: The house that you were living in, in the camp there, what kind of a house was that?

IG: Well, it was a house made out of wood.

EG: If you had to choose between the house you were talking about before--of your parents back in Bohol in the Philippines--and this house now in Kauai, which one would you choose?

IG: I'd choose the one in Kauai.

EG: Why would you choose that one?

IG: Well, because it has water that comes right in the house. We had to fetch water back in Bohol.

EG: In the house that you were living in, there in Kauai in the camp, how many families lived in there? Was it only you or were there other people?

IG: Well, there were two young unmarried men who had no place to stay; the housing was lacking at that time and so they stayed with us. They were living in another house that was very crowded, and we had room in our house--we had two bedrooms--and so they moved into one of the bedrooms in our house.

EG: Wasn't it kind of crowded inside of your house?

IG: No, because the bedrooms were fairly large.

EG: Maybe food was a problem?

IG: No, because we went to the store--the plantation store--and were able to get food there. And because they were unmarried men but working on the plantation they have an allowance of their own. So they shared in the expenses.

EG: The place where you take a shower and the toilet, was that inside of the house or outside?

IG: It was outside the house. Because that's the kind of houses they had in the old days.

EG: On an ordinary day what kind of food would you be eating?

IG: It was pretty much the same. On an ordinary day we would have pag kaon (rice with fish or meat).

EG: What kind of pag kaon would you be having?

IG: Fish or meat, like that.

EG: Were you able to buy things like that, like fish and meat; were they not expensive?

IG: No, they were very cheap. The salary was very low and the cost of the food was very low. Meat was 25 cents a pound. So it was very cheap. Before, the salary was low but the cost of the food was low. Now the salaries are high but the cost of food is high. So it's all the same. (Laughs)

If medical care or doctor is needed, we would have to go to the plantation hospital. And there was a nurse who came around twice a month to visit all the workers. Whatever we needed.

EG: You or the child, though, you didn't have any serious sicknesses?

IG: No, we didn't.

EG: Did you have friends that were outside the plantation, in other places, maybe from the place you came from in the Philippines? Or were most of your friends limited to right there on the plantation that you were on?

IG: All our friends were right there on the plantation because we were new; just having come from the Philippines and everybody we knew was on the plantation itself.

EG: Maybe you met a lot of people who were from Bohol, from your place in Loon?

IG: There were a lot of people from Bohol, but nobody else that I ever met was from this particular town of Loon. From other towns.

EG: Did you ever hear of this High Wages Movement? (Nods negatively; doesn't ring a bell.) Was there some kind of an organization that was talking about raising the salaries from \$1 a day to possibly \$2 a day? Did you hear anything like that, back when you were in the camp?

IG: Well, just at the time of the strike I heard about it.

EG: There must have been something that led up to the strike also, though; people must have been talking about getting higher wages.

IG: I really don't know an awful lot about that because we were not here in Hawaii very long when the strike happened. It was not yet one year since our arrival in Hawaii, when the strike took place.

Yes, that's right. There was a lot of complaining about the wages. And the people who were behind the strike were having meetings, I had heard about that.

EG: Who was the leader of this strike, as far as you know?

IG: All I remember is that man named Manlapit.

EG: Who was attending the meetings? Were the men attending the meetings only, or were there women also attending?

IG: No, there were only very few people, even of the men, who were attending the meetings. I never heard that there were any kind of big meetings. What happened is that the workers from the plantation or the camp, they were met outside of the plantation and they were talked to by some of the leaders of the strike. And they were told that if they joined together in the strike that they would receive a higher salary. But there was no question of big meetings being held, as far as I know, inside of the plantation itself.

EG: Did you ever hear Manlapit speak? Were you ever in the crowd when he was explaining anything?

IG: No, I never did. I never even saw him.

EG: The leader of the strike, on your plantation, who was he? Was he living there?

IG: No, even the leader of the strike was not actually living on the plantation but living outside of it.

EG: Where was he living?

IG: He was living there in Hanapepe.

EG: So he was coming from the outside to talk to the people on the plantation?

IG: He never entered the plantation itself.

EG: So how did he talk to the people?

IG: He had people, the leader of the strike had people who spoke to people who were on the plantation. But he spoke to them, as I said, outside.

EG: Where did the decision come from, to have a strike? Was that a consensus of all the workers, or did it come from outside?

IG: First of all, it didn't come from all of the people, all of the workers. It was only the Visayans who were involved in the strike. Ilocanos didn't want to go on strike.

No, no, when the big meeting was held, Ilocanos were agreeing that they would join together with the Visayans to go out on strike. When the time came to leave the plantation and go off to Hanapepe, there was not one Ilocano who was willing to go out on strike.

EG: Did your husband ever say to you that the group had decided to go out on strike, or did he ever ask you your opinion about what you thought about the strike? Did you ever give your opinion about the strike?

IG: There's not much that you could do about the strike, because there were many and they sort of put you in a position where you could not refuse to join. According to the people who were going out on strike--the Visayans--if there were people who said that they wouldn't go out on strike, when the time came to move, they would also come and get them and take them along also. Everybody was afraid. Even people who didn't know anything about what the strike was all about, they went along also because they were afraid.

EG: Maybe they were ashamed?

IG: Yes.

EG: [Her "yes" is a half-hearted yes.]

IG: No, they were really afraid. According to them it's really important that everyone agree, and that everybody belong to the union.

EG: I'm asking your personal opinion; what did you feel about the strike at that time?

IG: Myself, I didn't really like the idea very much. I didn't like going along with it. It wasn't right. According to them, we would have a house to live in and we'd have free food. There were Japanese who lived in the camp, and while they didn't strike themselves, they were willing to supply the food for those who did. There were also Chinese, and they were also willing to supply food. But they themselves didn't want to go out on strike.

EG: But how did you feel personally about the strike?

IG: You know, we were very young and we were still new here in Hawaii. And the pressure was so much and we were afraid, so we just agreed to go along with it. Whatever my husband said, I just agreed with that.

EG: What do you think your husband was thinking?

IG: I think he just went along because he was afraid that we would be the only Visayans who would be left in the camp that didn't go along on the strike.

When we were ready to get on the strike and to leave, we were approached by the boss of the plantation. We were given advice by this boss, and he said, "Don't go along on this strike because you're going to be hard up later." My husband was really unable to refuse to go along on the strike also because our things had already been sent ahead. They left before us and were taken to the strike camp. We were just waiting for a ride. "If you don't go along on the strike," we were told by the boss, "you will be moved over there near the area where the people who work in the office live. You will be put in the area where the office workers [higher status workers] are living." So there wasn't much we could do because all of our companions had already left and gone to the strike camp. Very hard to refuse.

EG: Were you afraid that the other Visayans would be using pressure or force against you, if you didn't join?

IG: We were really afraid because they said very clearly that those who did not join in the strike would be the first ones to be killed.

EG: Wow.

You were waiting for transportation to go to the strike camp.
Where was this transportation coming from?

IG: The truck was coming from Hanapepe.

EG: Whose truck was it?

IG: I really don't know whose truck it was.

EG: Was it a big truck?

IG: Yeah, it carried whatever you wanted to take with you, even though the other stuff had gone ahead.

EG: Were you riding in the back of the truck?

IG: No, we were riding up in the front of the truck, and whatever extra we had to take--after we had sent our things--that was in the back.

EG: The other truck that came to pick up your things, the first truck, where was that one from?

IG: I don't know that either.

EG: When you arrived at the strike camp, how many were you there?

IG: We were many. Women alone, there were probably 50 or 60. There was also many single men.

EG: Where was the place you stayed?

IG: It was the Japanese School.

EG: Where did you stay in the school; inside of the classrooms?

IG: There were no more classrooms in the school. We were upstairs and it was all one big room, like a big dormitory.

EG: And how many were you in one room?

IG: We were many. Married people were upstairs, the single people were downstairs. They didn't have any beds downstairs.

EG: So they had people downstairs and upstairs, two stories?

IG: Yes. Other people were from other plantations than from ours. Others came from Koloa Plantation. There were other young unmarried men who put up tents down near the sea.

EG: Were there some kind of divisions or something upstairs?

IG: No, there weren't.

EG: How about food, wasn't that some kind of a problem?

IG: Well, each group had their own small kerosene stove and they cooked for themselves. They would cook outside of the school. Each family took care of it's own basic food, the rice, and then whatever accompanied the rice. They had brought along their own utensils and their own kerosene stove and they did their own cooking.

EG: Maybe you were hard up there because of lack of water or toilet facilities?

IG: No, no, we weren't hard up at all because it was a school, and there were already toilet facilities and water there at the school.

EG: So your situation wasn't so difficult there?

IG: No, we had plenty of food and the rice was free. The only thing was, those people who wanted to eat bread, well then they would go out and buy bread. Because there was no supply of bread there. So if you wanted things like coffee or bread, or salt, or things like that, then you had to go buy it.

EG: Well, where would you buy that; in a store?

IG: Yeah, there were a number of stores in that area.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

IG:near the strike site, many Chinese stores. And so they could buy whatever it is that they needed.

EG: Where did you get the money to be able to buy some of those things?

IG: Well, we had been saving before we rented the strike site, and so we used our savings to buy things.

EG: Were there people who went around to make collections for the needs of the strikers?

IG: No, they were not companions of ours who were doing that; they were people from the outside. It wasn't people from inside of our strike camp who were going around. They were people who were appointed by the strike leaders to go around and make collections. They would go around to the other plantations and to the homestead and make collections for the strikers.

EG: What is it that they collected?

IG: Whatever they wanted to give; whether it would be rice or money or vegetables, or something like that to help support the strikers.

EG: Inside of the strike camp did you have some kind of an appointed task, some kind of special work you had to do?

IG: No.

EG: Maybe some small duties, like for instance, cleaning up the place or for cooking?

IG: Well, you have to do your own things, your own cleaning and your own cooking. But not as a special task for everybody but for your own personal cleanliness and food. I'm the one who cooked for the two of us.

EG: For example, in a whole day, what would the women be doing?

IG: Nothing. They would wash clothes, they would cook, the ordinary things that they were doing at home before they came to the strike camp.

EG: But when they washed clothes, they'd be washing clothes for their own families, not for the whole strike camp?

IG: Yeah, that's right.

EG: Were there other people who had some kind of special duties that they had to do for all of the strikers; people who had been appointed?

IG: No, there wasn't anybody like that. The collectors who went around the other plantations, they were not living there in the strike camp with us. They were living outside the camp. They were asking about one of the strike leaders, apparently his name was Grande, and he lived outside of the strike camp. He was a Tagalog. I don't know what his actual work was.

EG: Right there, though, in the strikers' camp, there was no leaders appointed?

IG: There was. One of the leaders, there was Lorenzo.

EG: What is his last name?

IG: I really don't know.

EG: How was it that they went around picking leaders for the head of the camp, people who would exercise leadership inside the camp?

- IG: They were just appointed from the outside by the higher leaders, like that Grande was one who appointed this Lorenzo.
- EG: Did you have any really close friends there inside of the camp, who would have been companions of yours; for instance, when you were washing clothes or relaxing, something like that?
- IG: Yes, there was one Cebuano woman who was a close friend of mine. Her name was Maria. And there was another one whose name was Ciana, probably short for Potenciana.
- EG: And what were you doing together there?
- IG: Well, we would wash clothes together. Sometimes we would sit around and tell stories to each other.
- EG: So there wasn't so much work to be done inside of the strikers' camp?
- IG: Not so much.
- EG: Were there many children?
- IG: Yeah, there were quite a few because most of the people who were brought over to work on the plantations were quite young at that time, and so they had a number of children already.
- EG: Those close friends of yours that you had there in the strikers' camp, where are they now? Are they still alive?
- IG: Some of them, they were good friends of mine, and their husbands went to jail. They were there in Kalihi Jail. I'm not sure how many years they were in jail. Then the wives were also brought here to Honolulu while their husbands were in jail, and they were taken care of by the government while the husbands were in jail. Then when the husbands were sent back to the Philippines, the wives went with them. The husbands were deported and so the wives went along also. When they were deported they were given \$50 each by the government.
- EG: Let's talk about the day when all the trouble began. For example, could you try and just talk about--beginning from early in the morning until the evening--what happened as you remember it?
- IG: When we woke up in the morning the trouble already began. It was early, it was not yet 6 o'clock in the morning. Many were still sleeping. There were many police who arrived.

The way it all started was they [the strikers] caught two Ilocanos because the Ilocanos were unwilling to strike. They were trying to tell them that when the time for the strike comes all the Filipinos will strike, and that means the Visayans and the Ilocanos. But

when the time came to strike there was not one Ilocano willing to strike, who did join the strike. So naturally the Visayans were very angry. And there was these two Ilocanos who were coming from the plantation in Makaweli. They were always going by the camp there on their bicycles. It was a Sunday and there wasn't any work, and they were going by many times. They were caught by the boss there in the strike camp, this man Lorenzo. They were caught and then they were put there in the strike camp at the school. They were put there in the school where we were living. They were given a place to lay down, in the downstairs of the school. They were asked, "Why is it that you are not willing to strike?"

The Ilocanos didn't say anything. They didn't answer the question.

For instance, "If people [strikers] come after you, are you going to be willing to strike or not? What's your answer?"

They answered, "Yes, yes, we'll strike, manong."

"If anybody comes after you, then tell them that you're going to strike."

And they answered, "Yes, yes, we'll strike."

They were kept there for three days, and after three days the police came to get them. There was probably around 30 police who came to get them. The sheriff was there also. That was either the eighth or the ninth. The ninth of September, 1924. It was not yet 6 o'clock in the morning and the police were already there at the fence--because the school had a fence around it.

Then they had the two Ilocanos called. Then, when the two Ilocanos came out, then the sheriff grabbed a hold of the two of them, and then they just ran, heading for the car. The sheriff didn't explain anything to anybody; just grabbed a hold of the two of them and they ran for the car. The Ilocanos were not allowed to say anything. And in fact, they didn't say anything because before they had agreed that if anybody approached the two Ilocanos, that they were supposed to say that they were on strike. And they agreed that they would say, "Yes, we are on strike." Just as soon as they got to the car the sheriff pushed them into the car and they were going to take off.

Of course, the Visayans were very angry. Of course, the Visayans were following closely, and they were shouting, "You cannot take away those two people, those two men, the two Ilocanos. Cannot be."

The police halted. And the Visayans were following very closely. Definitely, it was the Visayans who pulled the gun and shot first. It was a Filipino who shot the police. The sheriff who was the one who was shot because he was the one who grabbed a hold of the

Ilocanos. It was when he arrived there at the car that he was shot. And he was hit right in the forehead.

EG: Was he dead?

IG: No. As a matter of fact, it was only the skin that was broken on his forehead. Only the skin. It didn't really hit exactly. So nothing happened to him. Just a little bit. And he just started up the car as soon as he grabbed the two men. And so the shooting began.

EG: How many were there of the Visayans, who had any kind of arms?

IG: Some had guns but others didn't. But anyway, the Visayans without arms went along with the others, because they were companions of theirs.

There was a group of banana trees, and that's where the Visayans were. But there was also a small hill, and that's where the police went, up onto the hill. And they were well armed. They climbed up there and of course they had a terrific advantage. It was easy for them to shoot the Visayans, in addition to the fact that a number of Visayans didn't have any guns. There were 30 police up on the mound or on top of the hill, and all of them had guns. And the Visayans were very few and many without guns.

EG: How many?

IG: I really don't know the exact number. But certainly, very few of them had guns. There were soldiers who were there in Lihue--the capital--and they were called in. There was about two truckloads of them who arrived. And that was the end of the war.

EG: How many minutes or hours was the war?

IG: I don't really know.

EG: Was it a long time, like maybe one whole day?

IG: Certainly not one day. It wasn't 12 o'clock noon when it was finished.

EG: But they started around 6 o'clock in the morning?

IG: Yes. But it was between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning, when the shooting started.

So when the soldiers arrived, then they called the Filipinos and they started loading them onto the truck....around 12 o'clock, and that's when they began putting them onto the truck, when the National Guard arrived.

EG: You yourself, when the war was going on, where were you?

IG: When the police arrived, I was standing there on the porch. I was watching. When they grabbed a hold of the two Ilocanos and they were taking them over towards the car, they were no longer in front of the school but they were over on the side. And the Visayans were following them. When they started shooting, I entered the school.

EG: What were you feeling?

IG: (Laughs) I was afraid. I was really afraid because it was really war.

EG: And your husband, where was he?

IG: We didn't see each other. My husband went with the strikers. The leader of the strike was watching very closely, and they couldn't come back. If they started coming back, then the leader of the strike would start shouting at them, "Go back, go back, go back." So with the man standing there and pushing them to go back, even though they didn't have guns themselves they just joined together with the rest of the strikers. They weren't allowed to come back into the strike camp. We were only women who were there inside of the school. So when the shooting was going on we were there inside of the school.

Before we were there for too much longer, myself and some of my women companions, we moved even out of the school because some of the spent bullets were hitting the outside of the school. We could hear them. They weren't coming through the walls of the school because they were spent bullets. They just hit the school and fell. So we were really afraid and we moved into the back.

In the back of the school there was a house of a Filipino tailor. He was the only one who lived there; he was already old. We said to him, "Manong, we'll just hide here."

He said, "Okay," and we stayed there until it became dark.

The owner of the house--the old man, the tailor--he went out. But we were there lying on the floor until it was dark. We were 10 women who were laying there. We all had children; I had my small child.

EG: From 12 o'clock noontime until nighttime?

IG: Yes. We didn't eat breakfast, lunch, or supper. One day no eat. Because we were afraid.

EG: Is it not that there were a number of strikers who ran into the banana patch?

IG: Oh yes, the Visayans were all there in the banana patch. And the police were on the other side.

EG: And your husband?

IG: Yes, he was there in the banana patch.

EG: Then you didn't see your husband until nighttime?

IG: We saw each other at noontime. He came to me and he said, "It's all finished. The war is finished."

EG: Where did you see each other? In the tailor shop?

IG: Yes. Right after he saw me and told me that the war was all over, as soon as they went back outside, then the police were there with trucks, catching them and loading them into the trucks. Anybody who went back was taken into the trucks. The trucks were full.

EG: So your husband was also included?

IG: Sure, because as soon as he left me and went back out there into the open, they picked him up and loaded him in the truck.

EG: I really don't understand this whole thing; because if he came to you at noontime and told you that the war is all over, then why did you lay on the floor from noontime until 8 o'clock in the evening because of fear, if the war was over?

IG: He came to see me and I was the only one that he saw there at the tailor shop. And he told me that it was all finished. And then as soon as he left--it was very close, I could look out there--I saw them get a hold of him and put him in the truck. And that's what scared us. And it was clear; anybody who went back there, they were picked up and put onto the trucks. So all of us, we just went right back into that tailor shop, until the nighttime. And that's where we slept that night.

EG: When you came out of the tailor shop, did you see any dead people laying around?

IG: I didn't see anything because all the dead were over there in the banana patch.

EG: What did they do with the dead people? Were they still there at night but you just couldn't see them, or had they already been picked up?

IG: I don't really know, but I think maybe they picked them up before we came out.

EG: But you yourself, you didn't see any dead bodies?

IG: No, I didn't. No, I didn't see anything, but it was written there in the newspaper that it was 16 Filipinos who were killed. And

4 police. There were also people who were wounded and taken to the hospital.

EG: You didn't see anybody who was dead or was killed?

IG: No, I didn't. In front of, ahead of the school is the banana patch where the actual fighting took place. So I didn't see anything.

EG: Are there any members of your family or close friends who died in that fighting?

IG: No. There was one friend of mine--Cebuana, lady from Cebu--her husband died in the fighting. But that husband of hers who died, he had a pistol. He was the president there, when we were still at the plantation, where we were working. His name was Orquelio. I don't really know his last name; I forgot it. That's his first name, Orquelio. He was the president of our local organization. We had an organization of Visayans there on the plantation. It was for the Rizal Day celebrations. He was the head of the society.

EG: What happened when you came out of the tailor shop? Was it already dark?

IG: No, really we didn't even come out of the tailor shop until the next morning. In the morning we returned to the school where we were originally living.

EG: So what happened?

IG: Well, nothing really happened. We just sat around and talked about it. We were all women and we just talked among ourselves.

EG: And the men?

IG: Well, there just weren't any more men. They had all been taken.

EG: You didn't go to the prison or anything to visit?

IG: No, we didn't. We were just waiting to find out what happened, what was to be done. And then after two or three days, there was a Filipino who was a member of the special police who came. He came to tell us that all the women were to be taken to the capital and they would be investigated there. All of them were supposed to go to the capital. It wasn't the very next day after the war; it was a number of days after. Maybe that was three or four days after the war was over, when we were investigated. What happened, each one of us was to be investigated. And the lawyer of the men was present.

EG: This lawyer of the men, where did he come from?

IG: He was appointed by the government.

EG: Forgive me for going backwards, manang, but I want to ask you about those two Ilocanos that they had downstairs in the school. In a way they were imprisoned there. Did they tie them up?

IG: No! They were not tied up. They were treated well and they were fed, and they were guarded all the time of course. But in no way were they punched around or pushed, or tied, or anything like that.

EG: Maybe the Ilocanos were a little bit afraid of what might be done to them.

IG: (Laughs) Yeah, they probably were pretty afraid. Because it was only two of them. But nothing was really done to them.

We were told that we were supposed to go to the court, and we would be investigated there. So we paid our own fare and went. We took a taxi to Lihue.

EG: How long did the investigation take?

IG: The investigation didn't take a long time. We were only there about a half day. But it wasn't only once that we went. We went many times, because every time that we went they could only investigate three or four of the women. So once a week we went. Everybody had to go there, even though they could only take two or three at a time.

EG: So it was up to you to take care of the taxi fare, back and forth, each time that you went?

IG: Yes.

EG: And where did you get the money from?

IG: The Ford car--taxi--could carry four of them. And we paid 50 cents a piece.

EG: So that's a salary for one-half a day's work?

IG: Yes it was. The Japanese agreed to help out because they were going to help the strikers.

EG: Did you get to visit your husbands, every time that you went in?

IG: Yes. Every week when we went in we visited our husbands. Every week, once. We were allowed to visit them for a half-hour, once a week.

EG: And did you get the opportunity to talk to one another?

IG: Yes, we did. We could talk but it wasn't a very long time.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 5-21-1-78 TR2; SIDE ONE

EG: They went to visit their husbands once a week. And the husbands, they were a little bit afraid because they didn't really know when the sentencing would take place.

IG: And in the end, they [the men] stayed there for two months. They were two months there in jail before they were given a sentence. And when the sentence was given, some were released. Those who had good reasons, they were released. Those who didn't have good reasons, they were given a jail sentence. They were brought here to Honolulu, to Kalihi Jail. I don't know how many years they were in jail here--maybe two or three years--and then they were sent back to the Philippines.

GG: How many weeks did she have to go for investigation, and did they investigate all 50, 60 women; or only certain ones?

IG: All of us women were there in one kind of a big room. And then the lawyer would investigate us. And the actual investigation was not terribly long. He would just ask us one by one different questions. This lawyer who was asking us questions was the lawyers of our husbands.

EG: Do you know the name of the lawyer?

IG: No. It was an old American, a haole.

GG: When you were investigated what kind of questions did the lawyer ask you?

IG: Well, he would ask us where we were when the incident happened; what incidents we remember. "Where were you at different hours of that day?"

EG: For how long were you going for this investigation and to visit your husbands?

IG: Well, the investigation only took that month of September. But for our husbands, we went to visit them every week for two months.

EG: Were you there in the strike camp until your husbands were released?

IG: Yes.

EG: Were there any ministers or priests or just goodwill kind of people who felt very badly about what had happened to you, and came to visit and to help out?

IG: No.

GG: Were there only women that were staying there in the strike camp?

IG: Yes, it was all women. But some of them left the strike camp. After two or three weeks some of the women who had relatives in other camps, they went to stay with them.

EG: Were there many who did leave the strike camp, like that, and went to stay with relatives?

IG: There were quite a few. At least there were 30 of them who remained at the end.

EG: What was your feeling during that time, when you were going to visit, about what would happen to your husbands? If they'd be released or imprisoned, or what.

IG: We worried about it and what would happen to them. But for me, when I was investigated by the lawyer he asked me what my name was. When I told him my name, that was all the questions that he asked me. You see, my husband was an interpreter there in the jail. Because his companions there in the jail, his fellow prisoners, were not able to speak English. He wasn't really that good in English but it was good enough. He went through high school. So the lawyer was implying that there was no need to worry about him, that he probably wouldn't be imprisoned.

EG: What ever happened to the men who were killed during the war, during the encounter? Was there a funeral for them, and were there people from the strike camp who attended the funeral?

IG: No. I don't even know where they were buried. We didn't see them, and even the wives didn't see them. I don't really even know who buried them. But I guess the government did.

EG: Then there weren't any relatives or anybody who attended their funeral?

IG: No, maybe not. [Doesn't know.]

EG: Maybe you're very tired. As we are finishing up, is there anything else that you would like to add; maybe something that I didn't ask you about, that you think is important for this book.

IG: Before, when they were put in jail, us women who were left back at the school, we were taken care of by the government. There was no longer a collection being taken up and the food was coming from the Japanese. It was the government that fed the women. Every week we were given food for all of us. There was no men who could enter the school there; there were guards who were watching the place. There were guards who were in front and behind, all day and all night.

EG: There's a lot of questions that we were asking and you've answered very well. But when we listen to the tape and write everything up there may be a few things that we forgot to ask; and would it be all right with you if we come back again?

IG: Oh, feel very free to come back again. Would you like some coffee?

END OF INTERVIEW

Tape No. 5-49-2-79 TR1 and TR2

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Isabel Ganade (IG)

January 8, 1979

Kalihi, Oahu

BY: Ed Gerlock (EG) and Gael Gouveia (GG)

GG: This is the second interview with Mrs. Ganade, in her home in Kalihi. The interviewer is Ed Gerlock; the date is January 8, 1979.

EG: You know, you said before, when you were in the Philippines and you signed the contract to come to Hawaii, that you were given money and also clothes. What kind of clothes did people give you?

IG: It was just cheap cotton clothes. The kind of things that you would wear around the house.

EG: Is that what you wore on the ship when you were coming over?

IG: No.

EG: And who was it that gave you the clothes?

IG: Well, it would be like the....someone connected with the agent who was signing up people to come to Hawaii. Just before we left, on board ship, that's when the clothes were given to us.

EG: Both you and your husband were given clothes?

IG: Yes.

EG: Were you given a lot of clothes?

IG: No. We were given one pair of pants, one jacket, one blanket, one pillow. It was the things that was mostly needed for sleeping.

EG: And were you given some kind of a trunk or something to carry these things?

IG: No, it was up to you. You carried them whatever way you wanted to. They were just given to you that way.

EG: For the contract that you signed, did both of you sign? Both you and your husband, or did he sign for both of you?

IG: He signed for both of us.

EG: When was your first child born?

IG: In 1924, February 18.

EG: When did you come here to Hawaii?

IG: 1923, November.

EG: What was your food on board ship, when you were coming over?

IG: Our food was very good. We had rice and we had vegetables, and we had meat.

EG: Where were the meetings being held, about the strikes?

IG: Well, in the early part of 1924, I didn't hear anything about strikes. It just began around September that I began to hear, that people began to whisper that there was going to be a strike.

EG: And where were the meetings held, about the strike?

IG: I don't know much about that. All I know is that there was somebody who was sent to talk to people about the strike. I myself never attended a meeting. There was a Filipino who was going around and approaching Filipinos and talking about the strike.

We were asking, "Why should there be a strike?"

And the man was saying, "We can ask for a larger salary than we're receiving now. Also, we'll shorten the amount of time of work." Because before, it was 10 hours every day. And on Saturday, there was work also. And it was \$1 a day.

So we were thinking about it. "Wow, that would be really good." They were going to ask for \$2 instead of \$1, to double the salary for one day. When they were all together, they all felt like they wanted to strike, and all Filipinos were going out on strike. But when the time came to go out on strike, it was only the Visayans who did.

EG: Where was the meeting?

IG: You know, I really don't know where the meeting was held. We were still new in Hawaii, at that time.

EG: Why weren't the Ilocanos included in the strike also?

IG: You know how it is with the Ilocanos. For one thing, they're very

much afraid if they have no work. Our leader of the strike, that Manlapit, he said, "All Filipinos should go out on strike." But when we went to the strike camp, there were no Ilocanos there. They didn't want to go out on strike. They were touched by the talk of Manlapit, but they didn't go out on strike. And so the Visayans were angry. When we were there in the strike camp, on Sunday there was no work, and so the Ilocanos were just going by on the road. That's the time when they caught the two Ilocanos who were going by on their bicycles. That's because the Visayans really wanted the Ilocanos to join together with them and go out on strike.

EG: Was there any kind of an organization for the workers? I mean, like today we know about unions.

IG: No, there was no organization. That was before the union was formed. I myself never did see Manlapit. All I saw was the man who was his leader, the man who stood in his place for us.

EG: And who was this man?

IG: His name was Grande. He was the one who was the leader. And the assistant of Grande was Laurencio, who was a Visayan. Grande himself was a Tagalog. He was the one who took care of the strikers. [They lived in Hanapepe, not far from the strike camp.]

EG: Who were your lunas? What kind of people were your bosses when you were working there?

IG: Well, they were companions in the work. They were Filipinos, just like the rest of us were.

EG: And what were they like? Were they striking? Were they understanding?

IG: They were very good. They were Filipinos, just like the rest of us, and they were also our companions in the work. They knew what our situation was like.

EG: And then, when the strike started, what did they do?

IG: Oh, they also joined us in the strike. As long as they were Visayans, they joined us.

EG: Were there other kinds of lunas also?

IG: Yes, there were. There were also Chinese who were lunas. There was one of our neighbors, who was a Visayan, who didn't go out on strike. It's because he had a lot of children. He was a luna for a long time; way back in 1911.

EG: [Here ensues a long discussion about what boto-boto means. She

says that this particular man, this Visayan who didn't join in the strike was a boto-boto on the plantation. And near as I can figure, as I ask her for an explanation, it's someone who has great ambitions and is willing to play up to the boss in order to be able to get ahead himself. She uses the term, "sucker."]

IG: I don't know how to call that....sucker, eh. Sucker.

EG: So how did you look at the other Filipi for instance, the Ilocanos?

IG: Well, we thought that Manlapit was right. If everybody joined in the strike, we would be able to win. We were wishing that everybody would join. There in Kauai, there are some really big plantations, with a lot of Visayans working on them. Like Camp 4, and Camp 8, Makaweli. They're the ones who went out on strike. But there were others, like Camp 2 and Camp 5. Camp 3 also, they only had a small amount of Visayans on them. They were small, and so they didn't go out on strike. Their role was to supply the things that were needed by the strikers. Every time that they received a salary, they gave rice for the strikers. Whatever they gave, as long as they gave some kind of help for the strikers. Camp 6 and Camp 7 had only very few Visayans on it. Also Camp 1.

EG: Is it that there were very few people all together in these camps, like 1 and 3, and the ones that you're naming? Or is it that there were just very few Visayans?

IG: Visayans. There weren't so many Visayans in those camps. Don't forget that it wasn't just the people in Makaweli who went out on strike. There were also the people from Koloa. That's a very big plantation. Koloa went out on strike before Hanapepe did.

EG: You were living in the school, at the time of the strike. Where were you living, upstairs or downstairs?

IG: I was living upstairs.

EG: Were there beds upstairs?

IG: Yes, there were. We brought them with us. We brought wooden beds with us when we went out on strike.

EG: Where did you put your clothes? Did you bring like that dressers or something with you?

IG: (Laughs) We put our clothes inside of a wooden chest that we brought with us.

EG: When you arrived there at the strike camp, and you were upstairs, who told you where you were going to sleep or what place you were to take?

IG: That assistant to Grande, the one they're calling Laurencio. The unmarried were downstairs, and the married people upstairs. There were so many unmarried men that there wasn't enough room for them. And some of them put up tents down by the sea. But not that far from where we were. There were more unmarried men than there were married or women.

They were taken care of, as far as their food needs were concerned, by the supplies given by other camps. The Visayans who were working in the pineapple fields were giving donations and taking care of us. Even though they weren't so much connected with the sugar workers, they gave donations. There was plenty of rice, at the time of the strike. Even at the time when the men were arrested, the wife of Grande was saying to us, "Don't worry about what's going to happen now, because we have plenty of rice." But I really don't know what happened with that rice because as soon as our husbands were arrested, then we were taken care of by the government. They supplied us with food.

EG: What was their system? Did they give you food everyday?

IG: No, because sometimes when they gave us the rice, we didn't use it all up in one day.

In the beginning, we were about 50 women that were there. There were other women who went to stay with their relatives. This was after the men were arrested. And the women went down to even around 30, because 20 more went out and stayed with others. So there were about, basically, 30 women. And they were being taken care of by the government while their husbands were in jail.

There was a lot of rice that was given. There were also quite a few vegetables and fruits that were given. But when it came to meat, we had to go out and buy it ourselves. When the collectors would go out [before the arrests] and they'd come back with rice or with vegetables, they would even say out, "Anybody who needs rice or vegetables, go there and get it." You took what you needed. If we wanted meat, then we had to go out and buy it, because we had brought along with us a small amount of money. We were still new in Hawaii; it was not yet one year since we arrived, so we didn't have very much money.

EG: Where would you buy meat or whatever you wanted to buy?

IG: There were a lot of stores there.

EG: Do you remember the names of any of the stores there?

IG: No, I don't. We were in the strike camp all together for three months.

EG: When you came in to the strike camp, about how much money did you have?

IG: Just a very little amount. Just enough for me to use. Just about the time when the government took over feeding us, I was out of money.

EG: How much money actually was it that you had?

IG: It was a very small amount. Maybe around \$30. But don't forget also, that things were very cheap in those times. Because for instance, you would use---maybe 25 cents would be enough, per day. You could get meat for 25 cents a pound. Like pork chops.

The collectors who went around were our companions in the strike camp itself. They went around to the different plantations asking for help. Asking that the sympathizers would give something every time they received a pay check. They were given a salary. They would only give food; they didn't give money. Usually rice and vegetables. There were a lot of people who were giving, to help out the strikers--like the Chinese and the Japanese--even if it was only a small amount like two pounds of rice.

Sometimes, the fishermen would ask for help from the strikers, because there was so much fish. So all the young unmarried men would go down to the sea and help, and they'd bring back so many fish. So there would be plenty of fish for everyone. You know, in those days, you could buy fish for 15 cents a pound. Rice, at that time, was about \$3 for 100 pounds.

The salary at that time, was just about right. If you worked 25 days a month you were okay. You could charge things in the company store. You would work and then your food, you would get at the company store.

EG: On an average month, how much would you owe to the company store?

IG: Sometimes \$10 or \$11. If it were young unmarried men, sometimes their debt would be like \$6 or \$7 a month. And they'd be getting \$25 a month if they worked for 25 days. So they would have a little bit of money left over also.

EG: Manang, why would they go out on strike in the first place, if their salary was enough?

IG: They were saving up their money for when they would go back to the Philippines; that's why they wanted more money. Because according to the contract, if you worked for three years for one plantation, then you could go home free, after three years, to the Philippines. Some wanted to be able to go home and still have a lot of money so they could take money with them when they went home.

EG: This guy Laurencio we're talking about, how is it that he came to be picked to be a leader? Did the people choose him?

IG: No, the people didn't choose him because he was already the leader

when we got to the strike camp. It was done before we got there. Maybe he was picked by Grande. They were friends, even before. They were both from Hanapepe.

EG: We're really confused; what were people doing inside of the strike camp, to keep themselves busy?

IG: Well, a lot of times, like the young unmarried men, they would go down to the sea. And they would play volleyball on the beach. The women would embroider or crochet. They would also tell stories.

EG: What were your stories about?

IG: We talk about all kinds of things. Especially about when the strike would be lifted, when it would finally end. But after the strike was all over, we just went back to the plantations. During that time, there was no choice of what kind of work you wanted to do. There was only the plantation. Either you worked on the sugar plantation or you worked on the pineapple plantation.

EG: When was the end of the strike?

IG: When they picked up the men and put them in jail. When they put them in jail, and some were given a sentence. I don't really know how long their sentence was, but they were given some kind of a sentence. My ex-husband knows that. He knows how many years they were in jail.

GG: I think it was like one or two years, but then most of the leaders were deported to the Philippines. They only served so long--like a year, I think--and then they sent them to the Philippines.

IG: Some were sent back to the Philippines. They were deported. Those who were married and were deported were given \$50 by the government.

EG: How about yourselves? Did they give you anything?

IG: No, they didn't give us anything, because we weren't deported back to the Philippines.

EG: While your husbands were still in jail, did you go back to the plantation?

IG: No, we stayed right there at the strike camp.

EG: What were you doing at the strike camp?

IG: Nothing. We were just telling stories to one another. Also, wash clothes. Also, iron. We had a guard. There were two of them. No men could enter. The guard wouldn't allow any men to come in. These were two Visayans who were special police, assigned by the

court. The court was in Lihue. These guards could enter any time there, but they were married men themselves. The purpose was really to help us. For example, they would say, "Tomorrow, the women have to go to the court. Whoever doesn't have any transportation can ride with us." They also had pity on us.

EG: You yourself, did you go to court?

IG: Of course, I did. I was always there. The guard who was assigned there announced, "Tomorrow, all the women will go to court, because you have to meet the lawyer. The lawyer wants to speak to the women." So the next day, we went.

EG: And what happened when you went to court?

IG: We were investigated by the lawyer, one by one.

EG: What did he ask you?

IG: Some of the questions they asked were, for example, "When the fighting or shooting started, where was your husband?" They ask you, "Was your husband inside of the strike camp, or did he go with the other men when the trouble started?" That's the kind of questions the lawyer would ask.

EG: And what was your answer?

IG: You know, because of my own fears, I didn't know where my husband was, at that time. Once all the shooting and everything was over, that's when we saw one another.

At that time, there were two means of transportation. There were some Japanese who ran the taxi company, and the guards themselves--the two Visayans who were guards--also had transportation available for people. So for example, the guard would announce, "Some women will have to go to the court and to talk with the lawyer. And whoever needs transportation, we'll take care of that for them." And they were able to ride free. These two guards were appointed by the court, and they had come from Lihue. And if anybody needed transportation, they were to take care of that.

EG: And how about yourself? What was your transportation when you went to the court?

IG: We rode in the taxi of the Japanese. There were four of us who went together, and the taxi was asking for \$2, so we all contributed. We shared it at 50 cents a piece.

EG: How many times did you go to court?

IG: I went quite often because I went also to visit my husband. Usually, when I went to visit them, it would be towards lunch time.

They would bring them in and we would visit with them for around a half hour.

EG: How did it look to you? How were they faring, how were they doing in jail?

IG: They were getting along okay. It seems like they were just telling stories to one another.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

EG: Do you think that they were hard up, at that time?

IG: No, they weren't. All they had to do was just tell stories and eat. But it's also true that the room that they were in--the cell--was very small, and they were very many. They were like sardines in a can. Or maybe 10 men inside of one room. It wasn't too bad because a little bit later, they started adding on more rooms. The ones who were from Koloa were in jail the least, because in less than a month they were out. They went right back to the plantation that they had come from. They were the first ones to go out on strike, and they were the first ones who were freed. They had no problem. Those who were from Makaweli were the trouble makers.

They also had another strike camp in Kapaa, and people went there. It was better over there, though, because they didn't have the problems that we had during the strike. And so, when the strike was all over, then different men were released, and many of them went back to the same plantations that they had been on before. People from Kapaa also went home. And that was the end of the strike.

EG: This jail that we're talking about, where is it?

IG: It's in Lihue. It's the capital.

EG: Then what happened? The leaders of the strike, were they taken to Honolulu and to jail in Kalihi?

IG: Maybe, like Laurencio was one of those who was arrested, and eventually was deported.

EG: Did they send them right from Kauai, back to the Philippines?

IG: Oh no. They were taken to Honolulu. They were in Honolulu for about a year before they were deported. But I really don't know how long it was. What happened is, for those who were taken from

Kauai and brought to Honolulu to prison, the wives of these men were told that they would have to live in one particular place, and they would be taken care of by the government while their husbands were in jail in Honolulu. [The jail at that time was called Honolulu Jail, and was located on Iwilei.] I guess today, we would call that "welfare." That's the way they supported the wives of the strikers. They were even given a house by the government. And they just waited for their husbands to come out. When their husbands came out, then they followed their husbands. And that place where they were living is called Iwilei. It's right near Hawaiian Pineapple.

EG: Is Kalihi Jail and Oahu Prison the same thing?

IG: You know, Oahu Prison was for people who had only up to one year of being in jail. If there's more than one year, then they went to Kalihi Prison [Honolulu Jail]. And so many of those who were jailed after the strike, they must have been in jail more than one year because they were in Kalihi prison. [Oahu Prison was located at Queen, now Dillingham, and Puuhale.]

EG: For those who were less than one year, where were they put in prison?

IG: There in Oahu [Prison]. It was right near Hawaiian Pine; that's where it was before. Oahu Prison no longer exists.

EG: You know, when the men were taken to jail, and you were all women there inside of the strike camp, and at that time, there were so few Filipina women for the amount of Filipino men who were here, was there any problem like that, where men who would be looking for a wife while the husbands were away in jail?

IG: But you see, no man could enter inside of the strike camp, because of the guards who were there. Day and night, there was a guard on the side of the strike camp.

EG: Were you afraid at all?

IG: Yes, we were afraid of ghosts. You know how it is with Filipinos; a lot of them are musically inclined. They play all kinds of instruments. And after they die, their instruments remain behind. There were no men there, but there were an awful lot of instruments like guitars and banjos, and things like that. Sometimes, during the day or during the night, you would hear someone playing one of the guitars, but there would be nobody there.

And then, downstairs, there was nobody living. Because all the men had been taken away. We were just living upstairs, but the downstairs was abandoned. That's another thing that made it scary.

EG: So you weren't afraid so much of people as you were afraid of ghosts and spirits?

IG: It was the souls of those who had died. That's what we were afraid of; the 16 strikers who had died and the four police.

EG: [If you don't mind me interrupting here, this is a very common Filipino belief. And in the Philippines, people will sit up all night. There's someone to watch the body because the belief is--I forget how many hours--but something like within 48 hours after the time a person dies, somebody's going to meet him, and he's around the house somewhere. And so that nobody gets into any kind of trouble or runs into the ghost, people stick together pretty much when someone dies. And sits up. So for these people who were in the strike camp, you can imagine that there's a great deal of fear on their part, because of all of those people who died. They were afraid of the spirits or the souls of the dead would come back. And of course, when the guitars would make music without anybody being here, hearing sounds or voices, that really had them very scared.]

When the shooting started at the school, where were you? Who was there in the school?

IG: It was maybe 6 o'clock in the morning when it all started, when the police came there. Of course, there were others of our companions who were still sleeping. So when I woke up, I was looking out towards the door. The special police were there, and you could see they had guns. Laurencio was with the two Ilocanos down there, in the downstairs of the school. There were many police there. The sheriff wanted to see the two Ilocanos, and when they were produced, there was not a great deal of discussion. He didn't say anything, he just grabbed the two Ilocanos and started running out towards the car. The sheriff took 'em directly to his car. (I could see the car.) The car was parked outside and a little bit ahead, on the highway. It wasn't directly in front. It was facing towards Makaweli. When the shooting started, we were all hiding underneath the beds.

If only the sheriff had spoken in a good way, and explained things to people, it might not have happened. This guy Laurencio was asking the two Ilocanos, was asking him [the Ilocanos] the night before, "If the sheriff comes and asks you about whether you're included in the strikers, what will you say?"

He [the Ilocano] said, "We'll answer, 'We are on strike,' Manong." They agreed that they are on strike. They will say that to the sheriff.

But the sheriff never even asked them. He just grabbed a hold of them and started taking them out to the car. And my husband was also standing near to them there. By myself, I couldn't see him because there were so many people who were around. When the sheriff grabbed a hold of the two Ilocanos and started dragging them out to the car, I was looking at them. There were other Visayans who were saying to the sheriff, "You cannot take them."

You cannot hapai them." The sheriff took the two Ilocanos and put them in his car.

EG: Who started the shooting?

IG: I really don't know who started it. The last thing I heard, before the shooting started, was a voice shouting, "Go ahead, shoot! Go ahead, shoot!"

EG: Who was shouting this? Did you see or hear?

IG: I don't really know if it was a Filipino, or whether it was a Hawaiian. You know, the police were Hawaiians. Going towards Makaweli there, there was a banana field. On the other side, there's a hill. The only thing growing on that hill was cactus. That's where the police went up. And the Filipinos were down below, in the banana field. That's how they started shooting the Filipinos. The Filipinos were also stupid. Even though they didn't have any guns, they're going close over there. They were also afraid of Laurencio, because if they were trying to get away, he would send them back again, even though they didn't have any gun.

EG: Were there guns in the strike camp?

IG: There were some, but only a few. Not that every striker had a gun. We, for instance, we didn't have any gun. We didn't even have a knife.

EG: I don't really understand, Manang. Are you saying that the police were on the hill before the shooting started?

IG: No. They were down in the street, on the road, before the shooting. No, when the sheriff first came, they were with him. When they grabbed the two guys and the sheriff started running towards the car, that's when the shooting started. The sheriff was hit, but he was hit in the head so nothing happened. It went through his hat. Not only did a lot of Filipinos die, but many went to the hospital also.

EG: Now, where did the soldiers come into this?

IG: Well, the soldiers were there in Lihue, because that's where the capital is. That's where the Army was. I don't know what time it was, but they telephoned there, to Lihue. When they heard about the trouble there in Hanapepe, two truckloads of Army were sent out. It was two trucks, but one of them didn't have anything on it. That's what they used to load on the Filipinos that they captured around the area. Even though some of the Filipinos were soaking wet because they had jumped into the river, because our strike camp was very close to a river [Hanapepe] or a stream. Many jumped into the stream and dove into the stream. Then there were soldiers who were shouting, "Okay, go back now because it's all over with. The war is finished." When they came back, they were

picked up by the soldiers, put on the truck and taken to jail. There were some of the strikers who got beriberi because their clothes were all wet and they didn't have any way to change clothes. They were taken to jail just that way. Especially the unmarried men who had no wife who could take care of them or bring them other clothes.

EG: What time was the shooting?

IG: The shooting was about 10 o'clock in the morning. Well, Lihue is quite far away. It was in the afternoon when the soldiers came and rounded up the Filipinos, put them on the back of the truck and they took them to jail. And there were more trucks that came later to haul away the Filipinos.

EG: Were there many children there in the strike camp?

IG: Oh, there were plenty. Almost all the married women had children. And usually it was two or three because they were still quite young. I myself had one. The children were really scared when the shooting and all the excitement was going on, and nobody wanted to go down from the upstairs in the school.

That night, we slept in the house of the tailor. Then the next night, we slept in the house of the leader. We were about 10 women who slept in that house of the leader (Grande's. It was within walking distance. He had a wife, but no children.). We stayed there for three nights. There were some of the women who also stayed in the school, but they were really very much afraid. Even though the place the whole place was surrounded by guards. These guards were Hawaiians sent by the government to protect the women. When the whole thing was over, for one day I couldn't eat anything. Also the other women. Nobody wanted to even bother cooking because they were very much afraid.

EG: Were there special newspapers, at that time, for Filipinos?

IG: No, there weren't.

EG: Did you read in the regular newspaper what had happened; an account of the incident there at Hanapepe?

IG: No, I didn't. I never saw a newspaper there.

EG: There must have been newspapers that came from Honolulu.

IG: Yes there was, in Lihue. But in the strike camp there were none. Those who received the newspaper are the big businessmen.

EG: Didn't you say that there was a friend of yours before, by the name Orquelio?

IG: Ah yes. He died during the war. His last name was Orquelio.

EG: Was he the head of the organization of Visayans?

IG: No, he was the head of the committee in our camp for Rizal Day. That wasn't for the strike. Rizal Day is December 30, and every year the plantation would give a free cow. And the people, Filipinos would celebrate Rizal Day. The cow was meant to be a Christmas gift, from the plantation to the workers. And the Filipinos would have a party. It would be very much like the fiesta in the Philippines.

EG: That committee, did it do anything else? Or was that just for Rizal Day? After Rizal Day, it would stop functioning until the following year?

IG: Yeah, that's right.

EG: Was that the only organization you had for Visayans?

IG: Yes, it was.

EG: Are there any other organizations for Visayans?

IG: None.

EG: When they came and took away your husband, what were you feeling at that time?

IG: I never had any idea that they would be put in prison. I thought that they would be asked some questions and then they would come back home again.

EG: What did you think after a short time there--after a week or two--that he would be in jail for the rest of his life, or what were you feeling at that time?

IG: After they were in jail for three days, it was necessary for all the women to go to the court to be investigated. Then there was a lawyer, who was a haole and was old already.

EG: Do you remember his name?

IG: No, I don't. My first husband, Mauro, probably knows. After the strike was over, we were living there in Lihue and we saw this lawyer again. I had seen him but I really don't know his name. Sometimes he used to come even to our house later, and talk with my husband Mauro. When we were being investigated, they asked like, "What is the name of your husband? Where were you when the war started?"

When I told him the name of my husband, he said to me, "Don't worry about him."

And all of us women would have to go there to be investigated. He

knew my husband Mauro quite well because my husband was the interpreter there in the jail. Visayan to English and vice versa. You know, because a lot of his companions who were in the jail with him, they were the early people who came here to Hawaii, they didn't know how to read or write. There were even those who were older than me in age, but they didn't attend any school in the Philippines. Even when they did go to school before, it would be for Spanish or for Visayan but they wouldn't be speaking English.

Because before, in the early times, the Philippines was under the Spanish. So that's the way it was in the schools [in the Philippines] before; they were still speaking Spanish. Those first Filipinos who came here to Hawaii never went to school for English. That's the way it was; they didn't understand English at all.

That lawyer who was a haole, he's a very good man.

EG: That was the lawyer for the strikers?

IG: Yes. You see, the strikers didn't have any lawyer of their own and so the government appointed a lawyer for them. That's this man.

EG: This is the same guy who told you--when he heard the name of your husband--not to worry, that nothing would happen?

IG: Yes, it is.

EG: So let me get this straight. While your husbands were in jail, you continued living at the strike camp?

IG: Yes, that's right. While we were living there in the strike camp, it was like we were sisters to one another. We were about 30. There were other companions of mine--women--who couldn't speak English or understand English. And when the men (A lady nurse instead of the man was the one that brought the food.) would come who would bring the food for us--there would be rice and coffee, tea, sugar--a man would arrive bring the food for the 30 of us who were there in the camp. This wasn't every day. It would be about once a week. There was also flour. As soon as this man would come, then all the women would come running to me and they'd say, "The haole is here again." So I'd go there. I'd have to go there because the others didn't understand what he was saying.

He would ask them, "How many children do you have?" For instance, if you had two children, then you'd get two pieces of soap.

There was also a nurse who was bringing food. Her name was Miss Moore, I think. She was assigned by the Department of Health to bring food to the strikers.

EG: Did you think you were going to be there in the strike camp for a long time?

IG: No, I didn't. Because there was once when I visited my husband, and my husband was saying, "We won't be in here for more than this one month."

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 5-49-2-79 TR2; SIDE ONE

IG: It wasn't November, it was October that my husband said, "This is not going to last more than this month, then we'll be out of jail." He was told by the lawyer that it wouldn't go on much longer. Those who have committed big sins, they're the ones who are going to be sentenced. But my husband didn't know at that time how many would be sentenced. So when those who were going to be released finally were released, they went back to the strike camp. For the unmarried men, it was a question of picking up their things that were there. But the married men, not only their things but their families. That was midnight. Midnight, they were released. Then in the morning, there was a truck that came from the plantation because the court had told them that these men were being released, and that they should be picked up. They could go to the plantation of their choice. My husband was saying, "Let's go to Lihue." There was a plantation there where we could work. There were others who simply went back to the same plantation that they had worked on before. Others like us changed to different plantations.

EG: So the strike wasn't successful because it was still \$1 a day.

IG: Yeah. But in our case, we went back to the plantation for three months--November, December, January--then my husband was given a job working up in the mountains making canals for irrigation. That was \$3 a day. It was near Lihue but it was up in the mountains. And so that's the job that he took. So we rented a house up there. That was 1925, yes. When those tunnels were finished, then we had to go back to the plantation again, and it went from \$3 a day back to \$1 a day.

We moved to Kapaa. We were able to rent a house there for \$6 a month. Two bedrooms, only \$6 a month. Yeah. Big house. Two bedroom, get parlor, kitchen. No, it was really \$5 for the house, \$1 for the lights. And we were there for around eight months.

Then there were more tunnels to be dug, and so we moved again. And the salary went up to \$3 a day again. Where we were living, it was so far off the trail that even the cars couldn't get up there.

And after the thing was all over then there was no more about the strike. No, in fact, we didn't even like to talk about the strike unless we were with somebody who had been in the strike with us. It was very bitter to talk about it. Didn't like to talk to other people about the strike. Most of the people were afraid to.

EG: There was no one who was threatening you or saying, "Aha, you strikers, now you're going to get it?"

IG: No, no one was talking like that to us.

EG: Did the Ilocanos say anything to you?

IG: No. You know, the Ilocanos cannot speak English nor any other language but Ilocano. They don't know Tagalog or Visayan. Even if they live right next door to you, they can't talk to you. Visayans are really lucky because they can speak English.

EG: Why is it that eventually, there became more Ilocanos on the plantations than the Visayans?

IG: Yeah, that's the way it is with the Ilocanos. They like to work. No matter what happens to them or how difficult their situation is, they'll continue to work. As long as they're given money. They're not like the Visayans; they don't go out and buy good food. Visayans are always eating pork and chickens. The Visayans don't eat vegetables. But for the Ilocanos, vegetables are very important.

END OF INTERVIEW

The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai

Volume I

ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

**Ethnic Studies Program
University of Hawaii, Manoa**

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